INTERPRETING THE NEWS

By Louise Harding

Basis for War: No matter how conciliatory Washington may have sounded in view of the elections in Britain, it must be borne in mind that reactionaries in the US have long been eager to establish themselves on Taiwan (Formosa).

Dec. 7, 1949, Senator Homer Ferguson, after the Chinese had taken the former bailiwick of the Kong family, Hainan Island, said the time for a showdown on Formosa was near; He announced he was going to Washington to see Louis Johnson, who had acted as attorney for the China Lobby and was at the time US Secretary of "Defense"; Johnson was connected with the Schroeder banking interests (for whom Dulles and his brother were attorneys).

Ferguson was quoted as saying that, on seeing Johnson, he intended to get the cards laid on the table. Ferguson and other senators did visit Formosa at the time, and Ferguson said US must secure Formosa 'from Communist occupation - no matter what.' The US, he said, is as much justified in securing Formosa as in undertaking "Operation Vittles" (which, by the way, was occasioned by the attempt of the US to debase the currency of East Germany.)

July 28, 1953, Ferguson said over the radio that stockpiles of war materiel were to be built up "for home use and in Europe." Drew Peason speaks of Ferguson as the "No. One Boy of General Motors Muguls in the Senate," saying that, "through its dealers, G.M. has made some handsome campaign contributions to Ferguson in the past."

Ferguson has now been made ambassador to the Philippines: What wonderful representatives we get abroad'.

In his excellent pamphlet on Formosa, John W. Powell mentions the fact, little known heretofore, that in 1854 Commodore Perry sent a squadron to visit the islandand later recommended that the US occupy it as a naval base. "Two enterprising merchants, Nye and Robinet, having cornered the camphor market (Formosa then held a near monopoly of natural camphor which was an essential ingredient in the manufacture of celluloid and smokeless gunpowder) did in fact temporarily raise the American flag over the harbour of Kaohsiung."

Not long ago, in a radio talk, Adlai Stevenson proved again that he is not superior to other US chauvinists by saying that the US having taken Formosa away from Japan (he did not mention the complicity of the US in Japan's getting it in the first place) now has as much right to it as anyone, "except possibly the natives of Formosa." "The good old way, the sound old plan, that he should take who has the power, and he should keep who can!"

The population of Formosa came almost entirely from China, and the island was connected with China by formal government as early as 1360, giving it much better right than the US has to California. One thing is certain, and that is that the Formosans do not want Chiang. Nevertheless the US installed him by force and keeps him in power by force.... "Just governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed."

US Policy Means War: "Washington, April 29, AP - The United States is considering establishing an American base on Formosa under its treaty guarantee to defend the Chinese Nationalist Island against

any Communist attack.

"The base plan is part of a series of arrangements being developed by the State Department, the Defense Department and the White House, which would be factors in negotiating a cease-fire and possibly an eventual settlement of the whole Formosa problem."

(Formosa happens not to be a "Chinese Nationalist" island; there is no Nationalist China except as a figment of the imaginations of US reactionaries.)

"Establishing such an American base, armed with jet fighter planes, would have importance in several respects, officials said. First of all, it would be a symbol of American determination to prevent the island's falling to the Communists....." (and) "would increase the Chinese Nationalist sense of security" - by placing an American armed force on the island."

China, needless to say, will never consent to having her sworn enemy, USA, firmly established on Formosa, under whatever pretense. Hence, we now find Washington reactionaries "looking with skepticism" on Russian disarmament proposals - which most assuredly would never cover this Formosa scheme.

Chiang, meanwhile, continues, in collaboration with the US, attacks on China's legitimate trade (Britain has just made another of those polite protests). And Chiang is making no bones about openly attacking the mainland. Note the following:

"Taipeh, Formosa, April 29, AP. - Navy headquarters said today that Nationalist warships bombarded the Red China mainland Thursday, lobbing more than 100 shells into an area where the Reds were suspected of a military build-up for an attack on the Matsus."

As USA militarists have been openly helping Chiang in unlawful attacks on China's commerce, they can hardly expect their word to be taken, without proof, in regard to the aerial battle over the Yellow Sea, reported May 10th. US said the battle developed 50 miles off the North Korean coast. Peking says the fight occurred when the American planes intruded over Liaoning.

The people of the US know no more about the truth of the matter than if the fighting took place in the vicinity of the moon.

McCarthy, senator (still!) from Wisconsin, alleges that there are "481 American uniformed men left in Communist prisons" and says the Administration has known about them nearly two years. State Department presents a claim for the release of 41 civilians, and knows nothing of Americans to the tune of hundreds, held in China.

The Jailed Flier: The counter-revolutionary Drew Pearson says: "Reports from China indicate that most of the jailed American flers have been tortured into signing phony confessions...."
----Reports from whom? When the UN Secretary was in China, not so long ago, he had an excellent chance to talk to the men and to see whether they looked as if they had been tortured. He could have learned their side of the case if they have one. His careful avoidance of an interview looks very much as though he feared an honest report might be unsatisfactory to the US.

Lodge says it would never do for the USA to withdraw from the UN. That, he says, would enable the Soviet Union to turn the organization into a weapon against the United States. --But the US, from the very first, by its financial power, has dominated the UN and turned it into a weapon of Monopoly Capital against Socialism.

Whose Iron Curtain? Taipeh, Formosa, May 7, AP. - Ten foreign correspondents yesterday protested that "a condition of effective de facto censorship now exists" in Formosa. They objected to the attitudes of both Nationalist and US officials towards news.....They said the censorship is not characterized by the deletion of or failure to clear news stories but "by the withholding of virtually all information."

The Alsop brothers echo the above complaint by their fellow correspondents in a message from Washington (June) to the effect that the administration "is practising a widespread censorship..." "...Facts of really vital meaning are precisely the facts that are now under interdict." They go on to say that "What is involved here, in fact, is a radical change in the American political system, and very nearly an amendment to the American Constitution, that is being shoved through behind the backs of the American people."

Another General Heard From: SF Chronicle, May 15 - Retired Marine General Holland M. (Howling Mad) Smith said last night that too many people have the right to vote and the situation is bad for the country. Says he,

"Our traditional way of life is being threatened by the wide demand for more security instead of opportunity, by those who shirk competitive effort and seek some division that gives them a satisfying unearned share in the efforts of others."

--We may be sure Smith is not referring to the cartelists or their women parasites.--

"Unrestricted suffrage will eventually lead to some form of the Communism we are trying to check abroad," says Smith.

--Sounds very much like Franco Spain.

Dulles is Pleased: He says a new chapter in history is about to be written, with the inclusion of a rearmed Germany into the Atlantic Alliance (of Big Money). A chapter, says he, which will record the realization of a new Europe, united, free and secure.....

No! an old, old chapter, the memory of which, for whatever reason, is obscured for Faure of France, who says the idea of a neutralized Germany is 'unrealistic'.

Austria is back where she was in the 1930's - facing the Hitler generals. Concentration camps are a-building in West Germany. One of them, says Democratic German Report, "has been built in the peat bogs on the river Ems.....It is about fifteen miles south of the site of the notorious Nazi concentration camp of Noergermoor, in which the SS guards murdered many thousands of anti-Nazis during the Hitler period.

"In the new concentration camp, as in Hitler's camp, the prisoners, including many young West Germans who have been sent to the camp for their opposition to the new Wehrmacht, have to slave in the bogs, often up to their knees in mud, and constantly threatened by armed guards.

"Between 1950 and 1954 a total of 6429 yound people were sent to the prison in West Germany because of their stand against remilitarization and for German unity, official statistics published in Berlin on March 15th show..... In addition, police investigations were started in the same period against 35,189 other young people, and many of them were held for weeks or months by the police without their cases coming to trial. A large proportion of those not imprisoned lost their jobs as a result of the constant police interrogation." All propaganda against a new Wehrmacht is called incitement to insubordination which is a "crime".

--Such is the "free state" as Dulles and his fellow cartelists see it - which, correctly translated, means a slave state.

"Between 80 and 90% of the young people in West Germany are opposed to conscription for a new Wehrmacht, stated Ministerial Director Barth, head of the legal department of the West German War Office, March 21. Herr Barth made this admission in the course of an address he gave to the High School for Politics in Frankfort/Main."

At the ceremony in Bonn at which Adenauer announced the sovereignty of the West German government he forgot to mention that the agreements left the three western powers "the rights...relating to the stationing of armed forces in Germany...." It was interesting, says the Democratic German Report, that after a military band had played "Deutschland über Alles", the first man to congratulate Adenauer was his State Secretary, Hans Globke.

"This was very fitting, for during the nazi period Globke was head of the Department of Racial Questions in Hitler's Ministry of the Interior, and wrote the official legal commentary to the notorious Nuremberg Laws, which robbed German Jews of all civil rights."

Miller Case: Well, we don't have any peat-bog concentration camps around here - yet - but the Lucille Miller case is just as bad - worse in a way, because it makes use, once more, of the courts for its vile purposes. In a hearing before federal judge Ernest Gibson of Vermont, despite the testimony of neighbors that they had seen nothing wrong with Mrs. Miller, she was adjudged insane - on the sole ground that she advocated non-compliance with the draft: she maintained it was illegal and sought to bring the issue into court.

A frightful crime has thus been committed against Mrs. Miller: she has found herself no better off, in this "free" country, than if she had been living in (associated) Franco Spain! An act of purest despotism.

Politically the Millers happen to have been extreme reactionaries, standing by the persecution of Professor Owen Lattimore, and contending Alger Hiss was rightfully accused - in fact, it appears they were actually involved in helping the prosecution of Hiss. This does not alter the fact that in this instance government, acting in a manner threatening every dissenter from official policies - even those leading directly to fascism - trumped up a charge to consign a sane person to an institution for mental wrecks.

Your reporter contends that the way the people in USA respond to the Lucille Miller case will show whether any real love for justice and freedom can still manifest themselves amongst us, or whether we have already sunk to the level of Germany's masses cringing under the Hitlerian heel.

Albert Einstein: When Hitler came to power Einstein renounced his German citizenship. Leaving a comfortable professorship and his worldly goods behind, he came to the United States, which at that time he held to be a free land.

Having left Germany because it did not allow the free expression of opinion, Einstein was no more tolerant of tyranny in the USA.

Explaining his remark that he would "rather choose to be a plumber or a peddler" than a scientist or a scholar if starting a career today, he wrote, in a letter to Arthur Taubb of New Haven, Conn.:

"I wanted to suggest that the practices of those ignoramuses who use their power to tyrannize over intellectuals must not be accepted by individuals without a struggle."

In claiming that Einstein found in the US "the climate of freedom in his search for knowledge and truth," Eisenhower could not have extended that claim to present times.

WE SALUTE CEDRIC BELFRAGE

The body of the New Christian drives taxi, teaches school, and pounds this typewriter. Its soul is in jail with Cedric Belfrage. We hail him as a true exponent of the spirit that moved his friend, Claude Williams, to spend his talents in the fight of the people against their exploiters. We hope that by the time this this reaches you he may have been granted bail. Living, as we do, in a US satellite country we wrote to Herbert Brownell asking why bail should not be granted in this case until it has been settled in court.

Meanwhile we are all strengthened by the light-hearted courage of this very gallant fighter.

"THE TRAGEDY OF TITOISM"

A Five-Year Old Editorial

Soviet leaders sometimes make mistakes. But they have a wonderful habit which has a New Testament quality about it of admitting their mistakes and criticizing themselves sharply for them. In Yugoslavia they have just admitted a mistake which we were brash enough to point out when it was made. We said (Protestant, Vol. viii, No. 7):

"The tragic mistake of the Russians was that they allowed themselves to get so far out of touch with realities in Yugoslavia that the split could take place and have remained so far out of touch that the split widens. That, not imperialism, was and is the mistake of the Russians. If Russia should not learn from this mistake, as she has been in the habit of learning from past mistakes, it would presage ill for all of us. ....the question of who is to blame for Titoism is not for us to answer or even to consider. It is a question to be faced and solved by those who could have avoided it when it took place."

AND THE HUMILITY OF THE RUSSIANS

The point to be observed is that the Russians are teachable. And this is the best of all foundations for our faith in the possibility of peaceful co-existence between them and the Capitalist World.

Liberal Capitalism made nothing but mistakes from the betrayal of Spain until Dunkirk and Pearl Harbor which were the mistakes (from its point of view) of Fascist Capitalism. Dunkirk and Pearl Harbor slapped Liberal Capitalism awake to the extent of making it fight Germany and Japan but not to the extent of figthing Fascism itself. This was candidly admitted by Roosevelt. And on his death which coincided with the defeat of Germany and Japan Fascist Capitalism transferred its whole apparatus across the Atlantic where it struggles today for the soul of America.

Now the unacknowledged backbone of the soul of America is Russian Power. For with that power destroyed how long would it take for the fascist lust to loose the full flood of its evil upon the American people? Yet this Russian Power would be nothing without the Russian Humility, which goes with it.

It is the humility, the give-and-take, the elasticity, the living,changing quality characterizing Russian actions on every front which promise rich dividends for peace and for the establishment of a world framework for ever-widening democratic life.

WHO KILLED COCK ROBIN?

Who Scared the USA Out of Its Wits?

Who killed America's friendly cockiness? Who took away her confidence, her courage? Who created within her governing circles such a climate of craven cowardice that the people of the world stand in terror of what she may do in one of her paroxysms of fear.

Who has shackled the bright eagle of the air to the vultures of Guernica and Buchenwald?

The CHURCHMAN (118 E 28 St. NY 16) is currently running a series of articles on America's policy during the past ten post-war years. These articles take the form of a Report to F.D.R. on what has happened to the work he had done and was doing for world peace, the work which was interrupted by his death.

The author, "an experienced observer of international affairs," is unnamed. He describes in detail the hatchet job that was executed upon Roosevelt's program by the "Secret Front", pro-Axis, anti-democratic, and Vatican-inspired. He describes the activities of the Jesuit priest Dr. Edmund Walsh, "dean of the Foreign Service School and influential consultant to the State Department. "What the Vatican needed was a 'cooling-off period' to plead for forgiveness for the enemy and stir up hatred against the Russian ally." The author shows very clearly how everything Roosevelt had striven for was betrayed by a powerful group who had been covertly pro-Axis even during the anti-Axis war and who now came out of the woodwork and swarmed everywhere. Herbert Hoover, the Spellman-Forrestal group, Byrnes, Leahy, Dulles, Vandenberg, Wheeler, individually and as a gang, beat the drums of a cold war which they intended to heat up to a hot war of destruction against the Russians, the same Russians who so recently had been indispensible to them for survival.

The author tell how, according to reports written by the German Military Attaché in Washington, General von Boetticher, as early as 1934 the Nazis had made warm and cordial contacts with personnel in the US War Department. In 1941, in his reports to Hitler, this Nazi general was hopeful that the US could be kept out of the war with the aid of men "like Lindbergh and Hoover who represent the new leadership of the United States and who are hoping to liberate the American people from Jewish domination."

There is an amazing revelation in these reports concerning one of the Roosevelt-Churchill meetings where, Von Boetticher says: "The Chief of Staff of the Army takes with him a report on the Russian situation which is prepared along the German point of view..."

The CHURCHMAN article recalls the strong pro-Germanism of Dulles, quoting his "expert" opinion given in March, 1939, that "only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy or Japan contemplate war upon us." The article continues:

"Mr. Dulles and his cartel friends in the American military government started from the beginning their successful sabotage of the Potsdam Agreement. Without any justification they refused to deliver reparations to war-ravaged Russia and the other Slavic nations. By applying the "policy of firm containment" and by proclaiming that "added strength must be imposed on the Kremlin's foreign policy," the Vandenberg-Dulles group deliberately destroyed all opportunity for an American-Russian understanding.

"With such influential men as Admiral Leahy and James Forrestal in key positions, and with Father Edmund Walsh, Senator Vandenberg, and John Foster Dulles as chief policy advisers in the State Department, it was easy for the Vatican to determine the new course of American foreign policy."

The author rightly appraises the Churchill-Truman performance at Fulton (March, 1946) as "the secular clarion call for the holy crusade against the Soviet Union. It signalled agreement with the pope's plan to launch another world war."

A concluding article is to be published in the July CHURCHMAN. The publication of this series is one of the finest services ever performed by this great journal. We hope it can be reprinted as a pamphlet and spread very very widely.

FREE TO AGREE

In contrast to the above we must point to a pamphlet issued for the Committee on Public Affairs National Board of Young Men's Christian Associations, entitled, "Toward Freedom and Security". This pretends to be a counsel of moderation in the cold war, but it doesn't turn out that way. The author, Saville R. Davis, tells nothing of how the cold war started. It just started and Americans "had to switch around suddenly" from pro-Russian sympathies to hatred for Russia.

"Some switched quickly, others more slowly." "As we recognize now, the new danger blew up fast." "Events came so fast that Americans hardly had time to think."

So fast apparently that Mr. Davis has not had time to tell the truth. Here is his comment on Korea: "And Korea." Just that. "And Korea." Not a word about the admissions of both Rhee and his ambassador to the USA of South Korea's responsibility for the war. Not a word about the underlying causes of the war. Instead, a silly attempt to alibi the defeat of the American army: "For many reasons, still under lively dispute, General Douglas MacArthur and his vigorous American fighting men were caught in a limited war which they were not allowed to try to end with unlimited action."

Mr. Davis has a chapter called The Heart of the Matter, and it is the heart of the matter for it deals with the right to non-conformity. He would grant this right to all, of course, but Communists. These, he says, have been weeded out of the schools and colleges in this time of crisis — not because they are nonconformists, but for the opposite reason: because they conform to a dogma, to an extremist systemthat requires allegiance to a fixed code and denies the freedom of thinking by which education lives."

But are Communists the only nonconformists who conform to a dogma? What of race supremacists? They are nonconformists. They have a dogma. Have they been removed from the schools and colleges of the country? What of Roman Catholics? They are nonconformists even to the extent of having separate schools. Have they no dogma?

Has it not been the strength of nonconformity down through the ages that it has always acted under the compulsion of powerful convictions which have run counter to the prevailing ways of life?

This kind of argument is the sheerest sophistry, and we believe Mr. Davis knows it. The whole effect, if not the intention, of this YMCA pamphlet is to kill honest controversy by pretending to support it. The Heart of the Matter closes with long quotations from J. Edgar Hoover and Herbert A. Philbrick as champions of free enquiry!

A NEW CHRISTIAN CHURCH

I am no believer in a cold rationalism. My belief is that passions warp alwys to a deeper passion. There is a passion for the truth. That passion as it abandons one after another of the

substitutes and guarantees of truth which have been set up in the temporal garments (laws, equations, formulae) truth has worn at some particular point of history; as it quite completely gives itself to the Unnameable Spirit which shapes forth truth ever newly in some fresh temporal garment; that passion thus utterly abandoned even by these lineaments of the face of the Father Himself, grows deeper and deeper until it cries out in its Gethsemane: "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

There is no passion deeper than the passion for reality. Once tasted, the meat 'ye know not of' is never forgotten. No other sustenance can take its place, no lesser loyalty (to church, to country, to kith and kin) can shake that memory. Not even the sweep of a new ethical doctrine, however exalted, can obliterate the imprint of the meeting of soul with Soul, or reality becoming aware of Reality, of deep calling to Deep.

Yielding to truth is yielding to God, whether the name be recognized or not. The Roman Catholic philosopher Maritain used to feel that Russia may be the home of the coming 'New Christendom'. I don't know whether he still feels that way, but the feeling could have been due to the fact that in Russia there are fewer pre-conceptions as to what reality looks like than in the rest of the tradition-encrusted world, that in Russia there are fewer idols to break.

In Russia there is the recent memory of a great meeting with Reality, terrible breaking of the ikons. French rationalism and Russian materialism have been but the cries of two peoples in the agony of a new and blinding discovery of Reality, crying out: "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

At no time in Christ's life was God nearer or more real to him than at the moment when he cried that cry, why hast thou forsaken me. That was, as it were, an atheist moment in the life of Jesus. And there are such moments in the lives of all who live their lives at the frontiers of life.

There are times in history when God rides out beyond the ken of human beings, when the "God"-men know him not, yet shout his name ever louder and louder to convince themselves of an experience they have not had. God has gone under the rim of their spiritual horizons. He goes deep through the dark of the mind where he leads but is not recognized. God never moves greatly in history without having to contend with evil men using his name to fight his reality.

There are, however, men of God in the peoples' democracies, Roman Catholic priests as well as Protestant ministers, yes, and some even on this side of the Curtain, whose words indicate their sympathy with this idea.

"The heir of the long-dead Middle Ages, the ally of selfish conservatism, the bonze of a silenced litany, the stranger in life: This is the priest." Thus speaks the Archbishop of Milan, as quoted in Newsweek (June 13, 1955).

And if "this is the priest," what shall we say of his sacraments? Do they not become a mockery and a scandal?

Will the institution professing to follow the man of Nazareth, namely the church, allow his name to be placed at the head of world reaction? Insofar as the NEW CHRISTIAN is part of his church we answer no! We claim and attach his name to his reality as it moves men to express concretely their real brotherhood. This is important, because the very existence of beings endowed with selfconsciouness is dependent upon intergrity in the use of words. Words are all we have to identify experiences and to evaluate experiences. Deep in the conscience of the race Christ stands for the deepest values, despite the fact that the most horrible crimes have been committed, the most callous cruelty has been practised in his name.

And the time will surely come (it may now be approaching) when the word Christ and the word God will once more be spoken to men with their true meaning in mind. For one thing, we should remember that the very fact that evil men could could use these names against their true meaning depended upon the fact that these names did have a profound hold on the consciousness and the consciences of their victims. The confidence man depends on confidence, the native honesty of the average man. The crook can't operate in a world of crooks.

So the meaning of the holy words is there, the true meaning, in the consciousness of the people. And it is a challenge to revolutionary Christians, that is, Christians who, like Christ, are on the side of the poor and the disinherited, to tap that meaning and thus to tap the death-defying dynamic that goes with it.

This calls for a new church, a revolutionary church, either to grow as a cell in the body of the old church or to take form in the secular world independently of all present church forms.

This new church (and there is nothing scandalous in the birth of new churches) will need the qualities of humility and casualness. It will not allow itself to become a vested interest. Saint Francis of Assissi taught us this, and the lesson remains true even though his followers buried it with him in his grave.

There is much talk these days about church architecture. Thousands of churches are being built all over the USA and Canada. There is an argument about Gothic and about churches that don't look like churches. But a barn can be a church. One was. And a cathedral can be a house of infamy. Within our memory machine guns have been mounted in the belfries of churches and have poured lead into the bodies of Christ's children.

The church cannot be housed. The church can inspire architecture as it can inspire other arts. But there is no building which can be called divine distinctively from other buildings.

And, similarly, there is no theology that can be set up as preeminent over other theologies. Theology is just an attempt to talk logically about the Maker of logic.

When the reason is made to serve a thing formed and finished (even in part by the reason), when, in other words, the reason serves a construction of the reason, then reason obstructs itself, then madness begins.

Notably is this the case when the construction is a church. Of all construction the church should be the most humble, the most casual in its attachment to particular form, because man should in the church be most keenly aware of the weakness of the finite to express the Infinite. The church should be the one place where honest makers can meet and bow to that reality through which they make their world. But they cannot meet if they set up their theological, philosophical, architectural, sociological, musical, dramatic, or literary efforts as ultimates of expression. Ultimatums, either theist or atheist, are out of place in this church. Nor can they meet if one group of them sets up some particular historical institution as an ultimate, as a beyond-which-there-is-no-other.

In other words, our church must contest every inch of the way with pretension, that pretension which has caused the church down through its history to substitute dignitaries for dignity, words for deeds, honours for honour, arrogance for humility, and has frozen the tears of Christ into the hard cold jewels of ecclesiastical apparel. (To be continued.)

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JUNE 1955

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NEW CHRISTIAN is published monthly by New Christian Books, 95 Argyle Street, Halifax, Nova Scotia. By subscription only. 12 issues $3.25. Checks and money orders payable to **New Christian Books. No Agents.**

NEW CHRISTIAN

June, 1955 Edited by Kenneth Leslie.

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Vol. XI, No. 8 30 cents